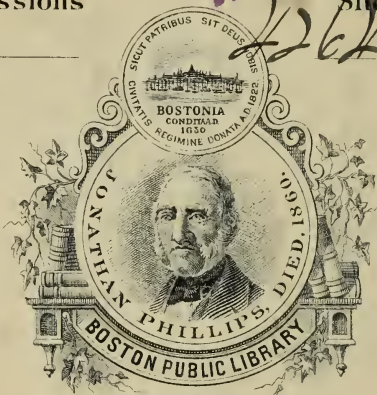




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ANTI-SLAVERY CRISIS.

POLICY OF MINISTERS.

*By Rev. Thompson*



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# ANTI-SLAVERY CRISIS.

## POLICY OF MINISTERS.

REPRINTED FROM THE ECLECTIC REVIEW, FOR APRIL, 1838.

### WITH A POSTSCRIPT

ON THE

DEBATE AND DIVISION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ON THE 29<sup>TH</sup> AND 30<sup>TH</sup> OF MARCH.

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LONDON:—WILLIAM BALL,

PATERNOSTER ROW ;

W. OLIPHANT, EDINBURGH ; G. GALLIE, GLASGOW ; AND FINLAY,  
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

1838.

*Price Fourpence.*



# ANTI-SLAVERY CRISIS.

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1. *Jamaica under the Apprenticeship System.* By a Proprietor. London: Andrews, 167, New Bond-street. 1838.
2. *A Bill intituled an Act to amend the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies.*
3. *A Bill intituled an Act for putting an end to the Apprenticeship of those who were formerly Slaves in the British Colonies.* Presented by Lord Brougham and Vaux.

THE anti-slavery question has again reached a crisis. Every thing now depends, under God, upon the firmness and consistency with which those who conduct the present great effort maintain their principles and press their claims. All is within their reach. We cannot look abroad over the face of the country, and interrogate the countenances of men, without feeling a deep conviction of the irresistible moral strength of the anti-slavery party. There must, however, be no wavering; no compromise; no political expediency. Two bills are before the public. The one a cheat, a mockery, an unjust and impracticable measure. The other, a bill, for abolishing the apprenticeship on the 1st of August next. The former, must be rejected; the latter, supported and *carried*.

We have in former numbers condemned in unequivocal terms the policy of ministers upon the anti-slavery question, and recent events have afforded us no opportunity of changing the tone of our remarks. We are still constrained to censure, to condemn. They have not, in our opinion, discharged the sacred duties confided to them by the imperial act of abolition. The country has just ground of complaint against them; and, though, it might be difficult for the mere politician to bring himself to vote the administration guilty of culpable and criminal neglect, their delinquencies will not be the less obvious to those who have for years regarded the emancipation of the slaves as a religious object, and surrendered twenty millions of their money to appease the cravings of the tormentors of the species.

Without repeating our condemnation of the abolition act, let us inquire, what the country had a right to expect from the government charged with the execution of its provisions? The country had a right to expect the following things:—The reservation of the compensatory millions till the negro was free, or, at least, till laws *really* and not *professedly* adequate to the carrying out of the provisions of the imperial act were passed. The rigid examination of all colonial enactments, and the prompt and decisive rejection of such as were repugnant to the spirit of the English act. The judicious selection of men to fill the all-important stations of special justices, with such provisions and pro-

tections for them in the colonies, as would give them a chance of being able to do their duty. In the event of the death, removal, or dismissal of any special justice, the appointment of a man, in all respects, qualified to fill the vacancy. That in the event of a discovery of any gross abuse, the colonial secretary would go to the verge of his authority to correct it; and if then unable, come down to parliament for additional powers, or propose a bill to accomplish the object. That while well paid commissioners were sitting, to award millions of British money to a slave-holding oligarchy, men would be set apart to watch the progress of an experiment involving the freedom and happiness of the 800,000 negroes for whose special benefit the great measure of abolition had been passed. The scrupulous enforcement of the provisions of the imperial act, respecting registration and classification. The prevention of fraud and oppression in the appraisement of the unexpired term of the negro's apprenticeship. The interpretation according to its spirit and design of those portions of the imperial act, which refer to food, time, labour, and indulgencies. That the horrid rites of the treadmill; the flogging of women; the cutting off of their hair; and the foul practices of hospitals, would be put down as soon as known. That due care would be taken of the young, the aged, the infirm and the diseased; and, finally, that such steps should be taken as would have secured to the negroes during their apprenticeship the benefit of that preparatory education, the necessity of which was so loudly insisted on by the advocates of a transition state.

Have these just expectations been realized? We answer without hesitation, 'No.' The twenty millions were distributed while the eyes of the Government were wide open to the most direct and flagitious violations of the spirit and letter of the imperial act. In the case of Mauritius two millions of money were paid as compensation, when the fact was fully known to the government, that tens of thousands of the negroes in that island had been feloniously imported, were illegally held in bondage, and were entitled to unconditional freedom under the Slave Registration and the Consolidated Slave Trade Acts. To this hour, the negroes of Mauritius are deprived of the liberty to which they are entitled upon every principle of law and equity. With reference to the colonies at large, laws were declared 'adequate and satisfactory,' which placed the apprentice in a condition, in many respects, worse than his former state of slavery. The analysis of the laws of Jamaica before the Select Parliamentary Committee, the laws of the other chartered colonies, and the regulation of the Crown Colonies, abundantly demonstrate this. The selection of special justices, seems to have been regulated by a desire, that they should become the companions and servile tools of the masters, rather than the guardians of the rights of the apprentices. Half

pay officers, inured to flogging, and accustomed to enforce the sternest discipline, were, in the first instance, sent out in large numbers; and as these died off, or quitted their new service in disgust, the governors were permitted to fill their places with plantation managers, mercantile clerks, discharged wharfingers, and men of notoriously depraved habits. Such are the men who under the imperial act have been vested with almost despotic power to coerce the negroes of the colonies. So far from the prompt correction of abuses, we find the colonial secretary speaking of the eight hours' system, by which the negro is robbed of the time necessary to grow his provisions as an '*inconvenience*,' in which it was 'more wise' to '*acquiesce silently*,' than run the risk of widening the breach between the planters and the colonial office: and we have the written declaration of the Marquis of Sligo, that in 1836, he sent home, in one dispatch, a statement of thirty cases of the flogging of females, and that no attention was paid to his representations by the colonial office. If the efforts of the governor of Jamaica, to awaken the concern of the officers of the crown in this country, were thus unavailing, we need not feel surprised at the indifference with which the untitled and unofficial friends of the negro have been treated in Downing-street. The proofs are at hand to show, that, while the paid agents of the planters have found ready and courteous audience of the colonial minister, and have even been caressed and loaded with assurances of confidence and friendship, the disinterested advocates of the negro have either been coldly entertained, or rudely repulsed. Appearances have justified the belief, that there has been a collusion between the colonial office and the West Indians, and that the feeling of the country in favour of emancipation, has been taken advantage of, to enrich the pockets, without diminishing the power of the slave-holders, and the abolitionist used as a cat's-paw to pick the pockets of a generous people.

Had the liberty of the negro been effected, we might have been content to remain silent respecting the enormous sum of money transferred to the coffers of Planters, Proprietors, and Mortgagees; but, as the matter stands, justice to ourselves requires, that we state the object for which that money was voted, and that we claim the fulfilment, on the part of parliament, of that contract which has been so faithfully implemented by the people of this country. The money, then, was voted to purchase for ever from the planter, the right of oppressing his fellow-men, —to bestow upon the negro 'all the rights and privileges of a freeman.' It was paid that 'on the 1st of August, 1834, 'Slavery should be utterly and for ever abolished.' We quote the language of Lord Stanley, and the words of the Imperial Act. The money was placed at the disposal of the government, for the object stated, and one of our grounds of complaint is,



that instead of being used as a means to effect the end proposed, it has contributed to make the condition of the negro worse than it was before. We cannot but think, that had the money part of the business been wisely (we speak of worldly wisdom only, denying altogether the right of the master of slaves to compensation) managed either by the parliament or the government, the negro might have been placed in a condition the very opposite to that in which we now find him. But instead of requiring, in the first place, satisfactory proof of injury sustained; and, in the next place, the delivery in good condition of the thing purchased, the compensation was awarded without a shadow of loss being proved, and before the negro was free from the dominion of his master. It is difficult to account for the infatuation of Government in this matter. Though dealing with a class of men who, through many generations, had been over-reaching the British people, and taxing their pockets for the maintenance of an inhuman system, the trustees of the nation's wealth, paid down million after million, with an appearance of confidence seldom exhibited in pecuniary transactions with men of unimpeachable integrity. Instead of saying to the planters, 'If you will not follow the example of Antigua, but determine to have the apprenticeship, be it so; but we will keep the compensation money as long as you keep the apprenticeship, and eventually award it only for such of your negroes as are living proofs of a kind and merciful treatment;' it was paid down with pitiful credulity and unseemly haste, before one tangible proof had been furnished of fulfilling even the conditions of the apprenticeship clause, and the wretched negro was left in the hands of his tyrant, to be worked, fettered, scourged, and polluted, through six long years of unrequited and involuntary service. Thus has the nation been deluded and defrauded. No part of the twenty millions has been given for the purposes of education and training—none to provide for the innocent and helpless children—none to succour the lame, and sightless, and strengthless amongst the negro population. No; the men, who with reckless prodigality distributed twenty millions amongst the magnificent white paupers of the Colonies, provided not a teacher for the ignorant, not a nurse for the infant, not a hospital for the diseased; gave not a pound or penny to feed the hungry, or clothe the naked, or rescue from starvation the fatherless or the widow. They passed by the poor, and gave to the rich. Our nation's treasure was given, not to make restitution to the plundered, but to compensate and gild the crimes of the plunderer.

If the language we have now used be deemed severe, we have only to refer to the work placed first at the head of this article, for the evidence of the justice of all that we have written.

We proceed to lay before our readers the testimony of one,



who is every way entitled to credit and respect. We are not now about to incur the charge of retailing the stale calumnies of Aldermanbury, or the ravings of fanatical missionaries. We are about to review the evidence deliberately and voluntarily furnished by the late Governor of the island of Jamaica.

‘Jamaica under the Apprenticeship System;’ by a Proprietor, is the work of the Marquis of Sligo, and contains, as we are told in the introduction, ‘the result of the experience acquired during ‘a residence of some duration in that island.’ His Lordship has arranged his facts and observations under the following heads, viz. Administration of Justice; Grand and Petit Jurors; Gaols, Workhouses, &c.; Special Justices and their protection; Valuations; Hospital Abuses; Non-registration of Slaves; Opposition to Apprenticeship System by the House of Assembly; General Opposition to the New System; Working of the Apprenticeship System; Management of Estates.

We have met with no work on the system of Negro apprenticeship containing a more clear and temperate statement of facts, or furnishing more convincing evidence of the absolute necessity for abolishing the unnatural and cruel system called by that delusive name. We earnestly recommend it to the perusal of all who need an antidote to the sophistries and mis-statements of an insidious article in the January number of the *Edinburgh Review*, attributed to a gentleman filling a situation in the Colonial Office.

Several circumstances combine to invest the work before us with peculiar interest and importance. It is the production of a Nobleman and a Jamaica proprietor, who once filled the chair of the WEST INDIA ASSOCIATION, and who cannot therefore be suspected of unfriendly feelings towards that body. It is the work of one who, having been the Governor of Jamaica for four months prior to the 1st of August, 1834, and for eighteen months subsequently, enjoyed unequalled opportunities of testing the value and practicability of the system of apprenticeship; and as a judicious and enlightened reformer of Colonial abuses, Lord Sligo ascertained to what extent it is possible to obtain the assistance of a Jamaica planting community, in originating and carrying on schemes of preparation for freedom. The work acquires additional value from the fact that, until very recently, its noble author was in favour of the continuance of the apprenticeship system under certain regulations.

The Marquis of Sligo commenced his administration of affairs upon the island of Jamaica, in the month of April, 1834.

‘Considerable apprehension,’ he says, ‘was felt at that time, respecting the probable conduct of the negroes on the eventful 1st of August; a feeling, however, in which those who did not see how it could be the interest of the slaves to interfere with the progress of an enactment so manifestly for their benefit, did not participate.

Anticipations of a general massacre of the whites were entertained by many alarmists ; and, among the great majority of the planters, a deep-seated, but indefinite fear prevailed extensively.'

The following passages are sufficient to refute a volume of the calumnies which have been heaped upon the heads of the negroes, and contain a volume of arguments in favour of their immediate and entire emancipation. It should not be forgotten that the negroes entertained the belief that the 1st of August would introduce them to a condition of *freedom*—with those limitations only, which had been pointed out to them. Their joy, therefore, is to be estimated not by their subsequent actual sufferings, but by their previous high anticipations.

'The memorable 1st of August at length arrived, and instead of being marked by the flowing of blood, insurrection, and disturbance, as anticipated, it was celebrated and made memorable, by the most extraordinary, nay, the almost universal, attendance of the negroes at the different places of worship. The chapels of which are of considerable size, were opened for Divine Service five or six times during the day, and were each time crowded, to an inconvenience in such a climate, by a succession of negroes, till all present had been enabled to offer up their expressions of gratitude to the Supreme Being for their newly acquired privileges. It is said, and generally believed, that *not a single drunken man appeared during the whole of that day in the streets of any of the principal towns.* On the subsequent days, more particularly that on which they were to return to their work, no cause for complaint was given, excepting in one instance. In the parish of St. Anne's alone, was there exhibited any disposition on the part of the negroes to secede from their usual labours.

'It is curious to remark, that such a spirit of insubordination should have occurred nowhere excepting in a parish in which the resident gentry had shown themselves previously to be the most opposed to the British views in Lord Mulgrave's time, and in which the 'Colonial Union' may be said to have originated.

'The terrors of the planters as to the conduct of the negroes having thus subsided, they postponed the period of their anticipated alarms till the Christmas holidays ; but it appeared that in this respect they were again mistaken. The anniversary of the 1st of August was next fixed upon as the time of danger ; subsequent events have shown how completely deceived in their calculations were these gentlemen, who silenced all who differed in opinion with them by saying, 'We, who have been so long in the island, must know its state better than you, who have so lately reached it ;—you don't know the character of the negroes.'

Under the head of 'Administration of Justice,' Lord Sligo has laid bare the imperfections and iniquities of the existing system of jurisprudence, and demonstrated the necessity of a thorough change in the constitution of the local courts. He strikingly

illustrates the gross partiality of the laws, and observes that where the laws profess to be equal in their application,

‘*The spirit in which they are administered in Jamaica gives them a totally different character:—the truth is, that there are no sympathies between the two classes—the magistrates, and those on whose conduct they have to adjudicate: and that, without imputing any corrupt motives to the one, the result is most unfavourable to the other.*’

In proof of the truth of this assertion, he puts on record the following fact.

‘In the act to establish regulations for the government of gaols and houses of correction, an especial clause was inserted to prevent the apprentice being exempted from the operation of any part of that law which equally affected all free people. No objection was taken to this clause when the bill was enacted, as nothing could be fairer on principle, or more beneficial in practice, if impartially administered. But how has it worked? Whether from no white or free people having committed any offence since it was passed, or from this generally received opinion, of which I especially complain, that it could not have been intended for them—not one person of that class has been placed on the treadmill, or in the penal gang, with the exception of policemen under sentence of a court-martial, or those sent there by the judge of assize. None have been committed by the local magistracy. This being the effect, it is a matter of utter indifference whether the cause be corruption, ignorance, or prejudice; the effect ought not to be permitted to exist; and it is for this very reason that it becomes so desirable that no additional power should be given to the magistrates, either individually or in a court of quarter-session assembled, until that body shall have been found to consist of persons brought up under a different system.’

On the subject of the Grand and Petit Juries we find the following remark.

‘Without accusing the gentry, who generally form those bodies, of any intentional opposition to the law, there is no doubt that if any individual, professing opinions not in unison with their own, goes into a court of justice for relief, the chances against his success would greatly preponderate. In this belief, there are few of the gentlemen of the island who do not participate; but there is not one who would not *anticipate with certainty* a verdict, even in a doubtful case, in favour of those whose political sentiments coincided with their own.’

The following cases show the extent to which party-feeling and prejudice against the coloured population prevail in Jamaica.

‘In the case of the indictment of the magistrates and supervisor of the workhouse of St. John’s, (for a series of the grossest cruelties committed upon male and female apprentices,) it was proved that the grand jury of Middlesex threw out the bills without examining all the witnesses who were tendered to them for the prosecution; they might have been justified in finding the bills on the evidence of *one* witness; but



surely they ought by no means to have ignored them without a close examination of *every* witness who could possibly have proved the facts alleged. It is somewhat singular, that money to any amount would have been wagered, on the day of the opening of the Supreme Court, that these bills would not be found ; but there was so little difference of opinion on that point, that not a single bet was actually taken up.

‘Phillips, the driver of St. Andrew’s workhouse, was tried and found guilty of flogging a woman, Jane Henry, because she would not submit to his desires ; it was then proved that this species of debauchery and punishment of females was of frequent occurrence. Yet the supervisor, who ought to have known the fact,—*who must have known of it*,—was kept in his office, as before, *and the custos even persuaded the parish to pay the expenses of his defence*. It might naturally have been supposed that the man would have been dismissed at once ; and he would have been so, had not the custos and magistrates approved of his conduct.’

Speaking of the liabilities of the apprentices, Lord Sligo remarks :—

‘An overseer, a book-keeper, a policeman, an estate constable, or even any idler riding out for amusement, sees a black man walking along the road with a bundle, or, what is most frequent, a basket of provisions on his head ;—he stops him, questions him—and if the man does not give an explanation *satisfactory* to the inquirer,—if the negro does not succeed in giving *what he considers* to be sufficient explanation,—he takes him up, *for which he is entitled to a certain premium*, and brings him generally before the nearest *local* magistrate for examination ; and in order to get the reward to which he is entitled for apprehending a runaway, urges the man’s committal to the workhouse. The man, generally, has not the means at hand of proving to the magistrate who and what he is ; and that officer, naturally not wishing to let a runaway escape, commits him on suspicion. As soon as he reaches the workhouse, *he is at once chained to some other fellow-prisoner* by a collar round his neck, and he is *sent out*, in the penal, or chain gang, to clean the streets of the town, or do any other work, in which the parish penal gang happens to be employed. He is then, as the law directs, advertised for four successive weeks in the Colonial papers, for the purpose of being claimed ; and, during all that time, works for the benefit of the parish, and perhaps at the end turns out to be a free person. In that case, he has undergone an unjust and severe punishment.’

Under the head of ‘Gaols, Workhouses, &c.,’ we are brought acquainted with scenes of the most revolting character. The whole West India system seems to have been invented for the purpose of torturing and polluting the black population. It is difficult to imagine what would be the state of things in Jamaica, were the whites permitted for a few years only to pursue unchecked their process of contamination.

‘Young girls, of premature age, and probably of excellent character, sent in on suspicion, or for some trifling indolence, or for turning out late

*to work, are seen working in chains in these penal gangs, cleaning the streets.* Thus any germ of modesty they might possess is destroyed. One of these girls is probably chained to a thief, or woman of infamous character ; if she has been heretofore pure in her conduct, the chances are strongly in favour of her being corrupted by the vices of her companions. Once seen amongst the criminals in the streets, disgrace attaches to her name, though she has really been guilty of no offence, except one of the most trifling nature, proceeding from the carelessness of youth ; and yet, for this cause, *she is made to associate with all the vilest criminals* of the chain gang. The strongest representations were made by the Governor to the different Custodes, informing them that he had been directed by the Secretary for the Colonies to call their attention to this circumstance, in the hope that they would except young females, of the above description, from this disgraceful punishment ; *but it has never been asserted, that, in a single instance, the practice was in consequence abandoned.*

‘The custom of *cutting off the hair* of all female apprentices, has been lately adopted in these establishments, on the plea of health and cleanliness. During the time of slavery, when it was more the interest of the proprietor to take care of these people, than it is at present, it never was done ; this, therefore, cannot be looked upon in any other light than *as a contrivance to make up for the other annoyances, which, owing to the Abolition Law, it is no longer in their power to inflict on their apprentices.* It is well known, that the hair of the negro is a close woolly oily substance, in no way resembling the hair of a white person. Cutting it off is a serious injury, *as it deprives the brain of its natural protection under a tropical sun.*’

‘We now come to the worst feature of the workhouse system,—the most palpable and barefaced violation of the Abolition law ; namely, *the flogging of females* within the walls of those establishments. The extent to which this was carried, and the number of cases which were discovered, and reported, by the Governor, in messages to the House of Assembly, were perfectly astonishing. No notice was, however, taken of them by that body, except appointing a committee to inquire into the truth of the statements. No remedy was even suggested. There cannot be the slightest doubt but that this abuse prevailed in every workhouse in Jamaica. *So large a proportion of the black population passes through these receptacles, that the moral effect of the process becomes an object of the highest importance.*’

Sickness in the West Indies is treated as a crime. The unfortunate creatures who are visited from God with painful and protracted diseases, instead of care and kindness, and the application of restoratives, and the privilege of repose and freedom from mental inquietude, are regarded as offenders of the worst class, and made to endure the added infliction of insult, imprisonment, separation from their relatives, and even coercion and starvation. We regret we have not room for the entire chapter under the head of ‘Hospital Abuses.’ The following extracts will however reveal scenes of atrocious cruelty which we cannot doubt will draw down

upon the diabolical system of which they form a part, the destructive lightning of British indignation.

‘Into these generally small buildings, males and females, lunatics, aged people, and those with contagious diseases, are all huddled together. There is generally no second room, or any other conveniency, such as health or even decency requires, for the diurnal necessities of its inmates. These poor creatures all sleep on a guard bed, which extends along one side of the room, without any bed-clothes whatever, though the land breeze is piercingly cold at night, and the blacks are peculiarly sensitive to its effects. To add to the misery of the place, the doors are generally kept locked,—always said to be so by the doctor’s directions, in order to prevent its occupants from injuring their health by walking about. They are often kept thus locked up the whole of the twenty-four hours, with the exception of half an hour each morning and evening, when the doors are opened in order to allow the patients to receive from their friends their own provisions. There is much reason to fear that this species of confinement is frequently ordered, for the purpose of annoying and persecuting the poor unfortunate apprentices. The stocks are had recourse to, in addition, for the same purpose; people with sore legs are often placed in them, in order, as alleged, to prevent them from walking; when it must strike every person, that inflammation is much more likely to ensue, if the diseased limb is placed between thick boards, than if the individual were allowed to walk about the hospital room at his own discretion.

‘In the case of Parsons, the overseer on the estate of Mr. Richard Barrett, it was proved that a poor woman, whose death was the subject of examination, was found by the magistrate, who made the discovery, lying on a heap of filth, occasioned by her own illness, which had never been removed since she was placed in a perfectly helpless state in that bed; also, that *her own daughter had sat for hours at the door, imploring in vain for permission to be locked in with her mother, in order to attend and clean her!!!*’

‘On the exertions of Special Justices,’ remarks Lord Sligo, ‘*depends the whole success* of the apprenticeship system.’ Let us then see to what extent these ‘*exertions*’ are likely to be put forth, and with what chance of ‘success.’

‘During the two first years of the apprenticeship, more than twenty Special Justices fell victims to the climate and to their own exertions, and many more resigned, from finding that the emolument was not sufficient for their support; or sickened by the opposition they met with from the planters; or in consequence of their bodily strength being unequal to the severe labour imposed on them.’

The salary given to a Special Justice, is, in the opinion of Lord Sligo, quite ‘insufficient to meet his necessities.’ Instead of £300 a year, the sum at first allowed, or even £450, the present salary, ‘it ought not to be less than £700 a year.’ Owing to the expenses inevitable on first landing in the West Indies, he



‘Becomes embarrassed at the outset, and is obliged to pay a portion of his salary for the liquidation of his debt. If he has the misfortune, not uncommon, of losing one of his horses when on duty, he gets into difficulty still farther; and unless he has a private fortune, with which his expense as a Special Justice has nothing to do, he cannot long maintain his independence. The stipendiaries are compelled on this account, as well as in consequence of the scarcity of inns, to have recourse to the hospitality, so proverbial in Jamaica, of the planters, *and then it is difficult for him to do his duty honestly in a house where he has been received with kindness.*’

After describing the manner in which the magistrates are deprived of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on their salaries, by the method adopted, of paying them through the Commissary, Lord Sligo adds:

‘In addition to these various hardships, the manner in which they are regarded by the planters is another very serious cause of annoyance. Unless a magistrate be a notorious partizan of the planter, nothing is too bad for him: whereas, for those who are what are called ‘Busha Magistrates,’ that is, under the influence of the overseers, nothing is too good. Two magistrates have been dismissed, both of them accused of an improper administration of the Abolition Law: for both of these a subscription was immediately and liberally entered into: to one a present of plate was made, and the other received the amount of the subscription in money.’

His lordship proceeds to detail, at considerable length, a number of cases of flagrant injustice in the part of planters towards the more honest and humane among the stipendiary magistracy, amounting together to undeniable proof of the perfect impotency of the latter body, in the prevention of fraud and cruelty upon the negroes. The only good they can accomplish, being of a negative kind, when they refuse to gratify the malice or cupidity of the master, by inflicting the lash upon the bodies of their victims, or sentencing them to extra labour for the profit of the estate. Our readers must be contented with one specimen of the malignant and combined resistance offered to those who seek to discharge the duties of their responsible office.

‘Another instance of persecution of the Special Justices which it will be necessary particularly to advert to, happened to fall to the lot of Mr. Baynes. From the time that he took an active part in trying to punish those gross and cruel violations of the law, which took place in the workhouse of the parish of St John’s, it was determined that all means of annoyance should be put in force against him. His wife had been recently confined. His persecutors commenced their operations with the wet-nurse, who was an apprentice. Though earning excellent wages in his service, much to the advantage of the probably absentee owner, who knew nothing of the affair, she was suddenly withdrawn from his house. He was, in a similar manner, deprived of the services of his other servants, who were all of the same class. Finally, he was,

by a general concerted plan, *refused a residence in the parish*, and is now actually compelled in consequence to live at a much greater expense, at great inconvenience to himself, and with great injury to the negroes, at Spanish Town, some miles away from his district.'

We have before us 'copies or extracts of correspondence between Lord Glenelg and Lord Sligo relative to the above case, in which Lord Sligo speaks of it as 'a part of a *systematic* attempt 'to resist the authority of the special justices, which had been 'brought into full play in the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale.' In the same despatch he speaks of '*one continuous system of opposition* to the efforts of special justices.' In the same parliamentary paper, we find a formal 'presentment of the grand inquest of 'the county of Middlesex,' Jamaica, in which the conduct of Mr. Baynes is denounced as 'a general nuisance!' And yet, 'on 'the exertions of Special Justices, depends the *whole success* of 'the apprenticeship system!'

Before we dismiss that part of the subject which has reference to the obstructions multiplied in the way of all who undertake to redress the grievances of the apprentice, we must notice an extraordinary circumstance mentioned by Lord Sligo. It appears that nineteen apprentices belonging to a planter of the name of Giles, in the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale,

'Came unexpectedly in a body to Spanish Town, twenty-one miles from their master's property, for the purpose of seeking protection against their master for several injuries received, and of having him bound over to keep the peace.'

They sought the advice of a humane solicitor in that town, of the name of Harvey.

'Affidavits were immediately taken, which disclosed circumstances of a serious nature on the part of Mr. G., as well as matter for numerous actions against him for injuries to his people and their stock. All that the solicitor could do, was to allay their fears, and prevent future injury by binding their master in sureties of peace. In this an unavoidable delay of five days was incurred by the refusal of the judges to interfere. A new commission to a magistrate was issued; whereupon the oaths were administered Mr. G. was ultimately bound over, and the people returned to their work.'

'By way of retaliation for this interference, proceedings against Mr. Harvey 'for harbouring' were issued before four local magistrates of the parish of St. Catherine, and he was fined 199*l.* 10*s.*'

His lordship's description of the Jamaica House of Assembly is highly instructive.

'The House of Assembly consists for the most part of men who have passed their lives surrounded by slavery, and have accumulated, under its influence, large fortunes from small beginnings.

Let the whole of the proceedings of the Assembly, since the 1st

of August, 1834, be closely examined, and it will be seen, that in no one instance has that body passed an act in furtherance of the measure of abolition, until *compelled*.

‘The assembly refused to contribute, by any local enactment, to prevent *the flogging of females* in the workhouses, and the cutting off their hair for purposes of annoyance. They, also, refused to pass the renewal of the first act in aid, in the original form, until their contumacy was punished by that law being passed in the imperial parliament.’

The following extract will show the amount of credit to be attached to the representations sent from the Assembly of Jamaica to this country.

‘The incautiousness of the people of Jamaica, in hazarding the most hardy assertions, and thinking that they will be received as proof, has been remarked before. Instances of the gross mistakes they have thereby made have been given. What, however, must the House of Assembly think of that passage in their statement to Lord Glenelg, (Evidence, pages 302 and 303) wherein they say, ‘That *the House repudiates in the strongest terms they can find, the accusation, that whipping of females is practised in Jamaica?*’ How can they reconcile that part of their representation with the Report of Mr. Buxton’s Committee, wherein it is specifically stated, that many instances of this practice had been discovered by Lord Sligo? \* They admitted its occurrence in only two instances, though *proofs on oath, of more than forty, had been transmitted home by his lordship to Lord Glenelg, and* COPIES SENT TO THEM. It would seem, as if they had, by a kind of voluntary self-delusion, persuaded themselves of the truth of their own assertions, and therefore refused to apply any remedy. At all events, *no remedy was applied*.

‘Instead of the good opinion of the negroes having been conciliated, and their dislike of their masters, whom they look on as oppressors, having been diminished, a feeling of mutual distrust appears to gain force daily.’

Lord Sligo, in his concluding remarks, states the following objection to the immediate abolition of the present system in Jamaica. We notice it, because we have heard it frequently urged by others. Lord Sligo, we are happy to know, has abandoned it.

‘The anti-slavery party, who find that the law has been much abused, and that the humane intentions of the original promoters of this most benevolent measure have been defeated, cry out loudly for an immediate abolition of the apprenticeship. But it appears doubtful, if such a measure would in the end be advantageous to the negro. The success of immediate and total abolition in Antigua, has been quoted as

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\* One instance has recently occurred in Spanish Town, and two in the workhouse of the parish of St. David.



an argument in its favour; but the cases are not parallel. Jamaica has thousands of acres of waste and unclaimed land, and every acre which is not actually kept in tillage, is soon covered with bush impenetrable to all except the negroes. Into these places, where food can be procured at the least possible expenditure of labour; where, as has been proved before the House of Lords, a man can provide a year's food for a reasonable family by twelve days' labour at his plantain ground,—where from the heat of climate no more clothes are necessary than what are required by decency—where the quantity of unclaimed wood, and of the thatch palm, enables the negro to erect a comfortable hut in a few hours,—into these places will he probably retire, and there lazily pass his life, never issuing from his recess until the want of some luxuries may lead him to bring produce to market, or, perhaps if the market is overstocked, may induce him to labour for a few hours. Under these circumstances no continued labour is to be expected from him. How is the case in Antigua? It is a small island, every acre of which is well known; in which it is said that there exists not a single spring of fresh water, and where the provisions are all imported; where there is no resource but work, with the produce of which the negro goes to market and purchases his daily bread. There the immediate emancipation was a wise measure; but *in Jamaica more time is required to prepare the minds of the negroes for freedom.*

Let us see what this argument is worth. In the first place, not a tittle of proof is offered that the negroes, if set free from apprenticeship, would betake themselves to the 'waste and unclaimed lands of Jamaica.' The fact is assumed without the slightest warrant. Secondly, it is not unreasonable to believe that, if they do not run away from apprenticeship, with its mockery of their hopes—its unpaid labour—its treadmills, and its thousand other horrors, they would not run away from liberty, with its wages, and privileges, and thousand blessings. Thirdly, if there be already a disposition to flee to the woods, to secure exemption from labour and oppression, and they are only restrained by the vigilance of their task masters, and the terrors of the law, that disposition is likely to be fostered and strengthened by the continuance and multiplication of their wrongs through two additional years. Fourthly, the argument, if it proves any thing, proves a great deal too much. If they would run away now, they would run away equally in 1840; and it will be necessary, therefore, to prepare to hedge them about by some new system of vassalage and vagrant laws, to prevent in 1840 what is dreaded in 1838. But admitting the force of the objection, we would ask if the negro is to be kept under a system so rigorous and inhuman as that which we have been contemplating, for no other reason than to secure to his tormentor the benefit of his uncompensated labour? Shall the man, from whose fierceness and fraud the negro waits the opportunity to flee, turn round upon us and say, 'You shall not redeem your pledge to the

‘ negro ; you shall not have the thing you have paid for ; you shall not vindicate the honour and sacredness of British law ; you shall not stay the march of avarice, and lust, and murder, because, by so doing, *you may deprive me of my labouring hands* ’? If there be ought of mercy in British bosoms, or any self-respect remaining with those who have paid twenty millions of money, we shall no longer be prevented from fulfilling the claims of man, and obeying the laws of God, by being told that ‘ the interests of the planters ’ demand the continuance of the system. Rather let the cane-piece cease to bloom, and the verdure of the cotton-tree perish, and our country cease its commerce with the western isles, than that we should grind the faces of the poor, and practise daily a system of wholesale fraud, and invoke the judgments of Him who hath said, ‘ Vengeance is mine : I will repay, saith the Lord ! ’

If we would nurture the population of the Antilles into free, happy, and loyal communities, we must adopt another and a better system. They must not be kept as nurseries for young noblemen, or to furnish graves for our brave soldiers, or markets for slaves, or even as countries governed for the special benefit of merchants and planters to emigrate to, and after growing suddenly rich, to return from, leaving the active and permanent inhabitants stationary in wealth, civilization, and political importance. We must ally them by affection and respect ; by extending to them equal rights, and the protection of British law, righteously administered. We must win them, and keep them, and regenerate them by acts of benevolence and piety ; or we shall not be long without examples of discontent and rebellion, and successful resistance to our authority ; nor will it be one colony alone that we shall lose. The lesson practised in one province will not be thrown away upon others ; and we may be doomed to pay the forfeit of our richest and loveliest dependencies to a heartless and cruel policy.

But we are told, ‘ In Jamaica *more time is required* to prepare the minds of the negroes for freedom.’ We turn to Lord Sligo’s book, and we ask if that system can prepare the negroes for freedom, which is fraught only with the seeds of demoralization and death? Whether that is a state of preparation, in which ‘ the feeling of mutual distrust appears to gain force daily ;’—in which the negro is doomed to hear himself ‘ cursed, and called ‘ a damned black rascal, on all occasions ;’—in which ‘ all sense of morality and decency is outraged in the persons of his wife and daughters ;’—in which there is a systematic ‘ endeavour to diminish the natural and legitimate influence of those excellent men the missionaries ;’—in which honest and virtuous men and women are sent to places of confinement and labour, where ‘ scenes of debauchery are of frequent occurrence ;’—in which ‘ so large a portion of the black population pass through

‘those loathsome receptacles of crime and cruelty, the gaols and ‘workhouses, that the *moral effect* becomes of the highest importance;’—in which daughters implore in vain permission to discharge the claims of filial affection towards diseased and dying mothers;—in which ‘young girls of premature age are, on *suspicion of indolence*, chained to thieves and prostitutes,’ to the destruction ‘of any germ of modesty they may possess.’ But we forbear. The interests of humanity and religion, not less than the dictates of justice, demand the extirpation of a system which has for four years legalized, under the name of *apprenticeship*, the abominations which were once execrated under the true name of *slavery*. We commend Lord Sligo’s pamphlet to the serious examination of all who seek for authentic information on the momentous question which now agitates the country.

We proceed to notice, very briefly, the Bill of the Colonial Secretary now before the House of Lords. It is not with that bill as an *abstract theory* that we have to do, but as a *practical* measure, intended for a certain latitude, and for certain parties. In estimating its worth, we must be guided by the experience of the past, and our knowledge of the present character and capabilities of those to whom it is proposed to confide it. It is intended, like many previous measures, to benefit the negro. It is a bill to *amend* the abolition act of 1833—to secure to the apprenticed population of the colonies the liberty, exemptions, allowances, privileges, indulgences, and protection to which they are entitled under the Imperial Act. Where is the proof that the present bill will share a better fate than its predecessors! Is it likely to prove more acceptable to the irritable and contumacious despots of the colonies than former bills? Are its features so bland and captivating, that it is certain to find ready access to the confidence and co-operation of those, who have treated every former measure with insult, opposition, and defiance? Does not the bill itself involve the heaviest charges of criminality and incapacity, against the planters, and against official functionaries? Is it more likely to give satisfaction than the resolutions of Mr. Canning, or the act it seeks to amend, which was recommended to their favourable consideration by twenty millions of money?

But we may be told, that the planters are not to be consulted—that the bill will depend for its efficiency, not upon the disposition of the masters and overseers, but upon the wisdom, firmness, and strict impartiality of the governors, and the vigilance, integrity, and independence of the Special Magistrates. Admirable safeguards of the rights and liberties of eight hundred thousand British subjects! The Governors of West India Colonies, with some honourable exceptions, have felt compelled to compound for peace and popularity, by yielding to the wishes



of the community around them; and in those instances where they have, with decision and true British feeling, sought to do their duty, they have been driven home defeated and disgusted. If we have no confidence in the ability of governors to carry into effect palliative measures, neither have we any hope that special justices will be competent to effect such an object. When we look at the general character of these men—at their previous professions, their almost necessary dependence upon the planters, their inevitable partiality, their habitual harshness, their general subserviency, at the constitution of their courts, and the obligation which their brief continuance in office imposes upon them to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, we tremble for the fate of those who have no better shield from persecution and arbitrary power, than the pity and prerogative of the stipendiary justice.

What has been the experience of such of the Special Justices as have made an honest attempt to do their duty? They have been discouraged by the frown of men in similar situations; they have looked in vain for the support of the executive; they have found a want of sympathy, and a still greater want of energy, in the Home Government; they have been covered with the slanders of a polluted and venal press; they have been called to endure privation, proscription, and insult; the presentments of grand juries, threats of personal injury, expensive actions, removals, suspensions, and dismissals. Is there a better lot in reserve for those who shall undertake to carry the *amendment* act of Lord Glenelg into execution? No. An act of entire freedom would, we believe, be less obnoxious than the bill before Parliament. Should it ever go out to the Colonies, the planters will either contrive to render it null and void by regulations and laws of their own, or bear down by persecution, or win over by bribery, those who are entrusted with its execution. But granting to the magistrates, and umpires, and inspectors the power to save the negro from gross outrage and fraud, is it not obviously beyond the power of the most keen-sighted and upright amongst them, to save the negro from those daily insults and acts of petty injustice, which are amply sufficient to render their victim unutterably miserable? Will not the negro be constantly reminded, that he is still the slave of the vile passions of a man from whose proud dominion it would be a crime to flee, and from whose systematic tyranny there is no appeal? Every hour the eye of heaven would be called to witness ten thousand acts of oppression, unpunished, and unknown on earth, save to the perpetrators and the sufferers. One fact will illustrate this. Lord Sligo was, for upwards of twelve months, ignorant of the daily practice of flogging females in the house of correction at Spanish Town, (the seat of the executive government) though the building in which those enormities were

committed was within three hundred yards of the Governor's residence.

We denounce the bill, not only because we believe it to be utterly impracticable—a mockery of the negroes' hopes—but because it seeks to regulate a system essentially and incurably unjust. The West India system is an outrage upon the rights of mankind; a high-handed violation of all the precepts of Christianity; a gigantic robbery upon the industry of the poor; a wicked denial of the blessings of the British Constitution to unoffending, loyal, and grateful subjects. And shall such a system—all attempts to modify or mitigate which have been worse than useless—shall such a system again be made the subject of experiment? Shall another attempt be made to change the spots of the leopard, and teach those to do good who have been ever accustomed to do evil? Yet such an attempt is proposed in the bill of Lord Glenelg. He recommends palliatives which can never execute themselves. There is but one measure that can carry with it from this country an executory principle—a measure proclaiming the negro free to change his master; a measure annihilating, at once and for ever, the unrighteous dominion of the white man over the black man. Such a measure is that proposed by Lord Brougham—a measure ‘for putting an end to the ‘apprenticeship of those who were formerly (we say, are still) ‘slaves in the British Colonies.’ The friends of immediate emancipation must be watchful and determined. They must set their faces like flint against the wretched attempt of the Government, to patch up an unholy and anti-Christian system. They must sanction no more waste of legislation—no trusting of power or discretion to the planter. What is done must be done decisively and irrevocably. Otherwise, three years from this time we may be again summoned to leave our homes and occupations, required to put other great measures in abeyance, to reconstruct again the costly machinery of enlightenment and agitation, to effect that which may be now attained, if there be a judicious and uncompromising employment of the moral agency, placed at the disposal of those who have the conduct of the present movement.

We are aware it is contended by many that we are under a contract to give the West Indians the remaining two years of the apprenticeship; and that to disturb the present arrangement would be to violate a national engagement. This opinion we believe to be founded upon an erroneous view of the nature of the arrangement, and the prerogatives of Parliament. The Act of Abolition was a measure demanded by the nation, under a deep religious conviction of the radical injustice and cruelty of the system of colonial slavery, and it was finally determined, that whatever the loss or inconvenience to be incurred, that system should be utterly abolished. The Legislature, without asking

the consent of the master, proceeded to legislate for the freedom of the slave, and decreed that, on the 1st of August, 1834, he should be absolutely and for ever manumitted. Taking, however, the circumstances of all parties into consideration, they resolved to set apart twenty millions, under the name of a compensation fund, to indemnify the owners of slaves for any loss they might sustain, and to apprentice the negro for four or six years, according to his previous occupation, to promote thereby his industry, good conduct, and education. Let it never be forgotten that the entire movement was for *the benefit of the negro*, and that any sacrifice of wealth on the part of the nation, was a sacrifice *voluntarily* made to promote that object. The Parliament, whether giving twenty millions to the master, or enacting the apprenticeship for the slave, were contracting with no party. They were proceeding upon certain independent views of expediency, and did what they did of their own accord and sovereign pleasure. How stands the case now? The money paid to the proprietors of slaves, they find was paid under a mistake; for no loss has been sustained, but, on the contrary, great gains realized, as is proved by the effects of freedom in Antigua. They find, also, that the apprenticeship was wholly unnecessary, and that, with great safety, and immediate advantage to all parties, the negroes might have been made free at once. Lastly, they discover that the system, which was intended to promote the good conduct of the negro, has placed him in a condition of aggravated suffering; and that, if they would vindicate the honour of the British nation, and fulfil the hopes, and maintain the rights of the negro, they must proceed to repeal the apprenticeship clause of the act, and abbreviate its duration by two years.

Can it be successfully argued that the power that at first decreed the extinction of slavery, and *made* the apprenticeship, is not fully competent to carry its own decree into fulfilment, or *unmake* that which is found to be equally unjust in principle, needless in policy, and oppressive in operation? But admitting, for a moment, that the Imperial Act is to be viewed in the light of a contract, just in principle, apparently sound in policy, and having a righteous object in view; yet if it be found, on experiment, not to secure its object, but to work out results the very opposite to those designed, it becomes the immediate duty of its originators to pronounce it null and void, and to substitute such other enactments as the justice and necessity of the case require. We, however, take higher ground. We hold it to be the duty of the British Parliament, in the sight of God, to cease at once from the crime of continuing the negro in a state of unnecessary restraint and uncompensated toil, exposed to the fury of unreasonable and wicked men—to deliver, by the power confided to them, the oppressed out of the hands of the spoiler—to be held back by



no contracts, written or implied, which contravene the laws of God, and deprive men of their sacred and inalienable rights. We have noticed the supposed argument of a contract, because we have reason to believe it has presented a difficulty to the minds of some who are influenced by the loftiest principles, but were, notwithstanding, entangled in the meshes of West Indian sophistry.

The present aspect of the anti-slavery question is most encouraging. During the last month there has been a rapid advance of public feeling upon the subject. The magnificent speeches of Lord Brougham have been carried into every corner of the kingdom, and have enlightened and stimulated tens of thousands who were previously ignorant, and therefore indifferent. Petitions in unprecedented numbers have been nightly presented to both Houses of Parliament. The work of conversion has been proceeding both amongst peers and commoners; and many distinguished men, including several right rev. prelates, have declared their conviction of the necessity of terminating the apprenticeship, and their intention to vote and speak in its behalf. The Marquis of Sligo, with a disinterestedness and magnanimity, which have already won for him the admiration of every British abolitionist, and will not fail to secure for him the blessing of the negro, has nobly resolved to declare his apprentices free on the 1st of August next. The island of Montserrat has resolved to do its duty. Both branches of the legislature have unanimously decided in favour of entire freedom on the 1st of August. The news from Barbadoes justifies the hope that that colony will not refuse to follow the example thus honourably presented.

The attendance at the great meetings recently held at Exeter Hall, afforded ocular demonstration the most convincing, of the unparalleled interest awakened by the renewed discussion of the question of negro freedom. While we write four hundred anti-slavery delegates, assembled from all parts of the United kingdom are sitting in solemn deliberation at Exeter Hall. They are of one heart, and of one mind; and when they present themselves before the first lord of the Treasury and the chief Colonial Secretary as they will do this day, (the 28th) we trust they will not hesitate to utter the sentiments of the great nation whose awakened humanity and unquenchable hatred of African oppression they are appointed to represent. We are unfeignedly happy to find that the great leaders of the cause in previous struggles, have at last fully united with the parties who have recently been so honourably conspicuous in rousing the country, and bringing matters into their present cheering position. Mr. Buxton and Mr. Macauley yesterday put their names to a petition for the immediate extinction of the apprenticeship. The venerable Thomas Clarkson has forwarded petitions to both Houses in his individual capacity. Dr.

Lushington has visited and inspired the delegates, and announced his intention of supporting Sir George Strickland's motion. To humbler names, however, belongs the credit of arousing and gathering and directing the omnipotent moral energy of the country. Counsell'd against agitating for the immediate extinction of the apprenticeship—warned of the total impracticability of their measures—denied the countenance and support of the men standing high in influence and station—their motives not unfrequently arraigned—opposed by the force of those opinions which had been given against them, and which were industriously proclaimed throughout the land—frowned upon by the members of the cabinet, and made the objects of ridicule by time-serving and callous-hearted politicians—the cry of 'division in the camp'—'Mr. Buxton is against you,' meeting them at every step—they nevertheless went forth to proclaim aloud the wrongs of the captive, and summon the piety and humanity of their countrymen and countrywomen to the work of undoing the heavy burdens and letting the oppressed go free. Their call was answered. Every where the friends of human rights enrolled themselves under their banners. What money they wanted they obtained. Public meetings never before equalled in numbers, respectability, enthusiasm, and a union of otherwise conflicting parties, were held in every direction. They appealed to the *women* of Great Britain, and six hundred and thirty thousand stood at the foot of the throne to intercede for mercy to their manacled sisters in the British Colonies. Verily they have their reward. Four short months only have elapsed since the sound went forth, and now these same men sit surrounded by the wise and good of the land—their principles espoused, their plans adopted, and their triumph at hand. We regard the extraordinary effects which have followed the labours of the Central Emancipation Committee and their supporters in the country, as additional proofs of what may be effected by plain and upright men, energetically engaged in a good cause. Though scorned by the proud, forsaken by the timid, chided by the prudent, and reviled by the envious, their ultimate success is certain. And whenever that success is achieved, then shall they find themselves surrounded and applauded by those who will embark

On the smooth surface of a summer's sea  
 When gentle zephyrs play with prosperous gales,  
 And fortune's favour fills the swelling sails ;  
 But would forsake the ship and make the shore,  
 Should the winds whistle, and the tempests rear.

We await with anxiety the result of the motion to be brought forward by Sir George Strickland. We have heard a rumour that men in high places mean to try their strength with the pe-

tioners for immediate emancipation—to nail their colours to the mast—and stand or fall by their darling bill. Let them beware! Should the Queen's ministers despise a nation's prayer, and mock a fettered race, and deprive their royal mistress of the imperishable glory she would acquire by the great act of righteousness and mercy now called for by the noblest and best of her subjects; should they refuse to listen to the dictates of a generous patriotism, and determine upon consulting only the wishes and 'interests of the planters;' should they persevere in a scheme of delusion and disappointment and delay, they will forfeit the confidence of their sincerest friends throughout the country, and endanger the power they have refused to exercise for the deliverance of the enslaved. Should they, however, resolve upon a measure of full justice to the negro, the path to honour and a nation's heart is before them, and they may establish themselves in the affections of a generous people. A few hours will show. Our prayer is, that her Majesty's ministers may yield to the importunity of the friends of the oppressed—may place themselves at the head of the present great movement, and ere they gather round England's Queen, to see the sceptre of dominion over these and distant isles placed in her hand, afford her an opportunity of doing a great act of national justice. Let them not enthrone her *the Queen of SLAVES*—rather let them enable her, when looking back upon a long reign of peace and prosperity, to say, 'When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me: because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me; and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me: my judgment was a robe and a diadem.'



## POSTSCRIPT.

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On Thursday evening, the 29th ultimo, Sir GEORGE<sup>7</sup> STRICKLAND brought forward his motion for the termination of the Apprenticeship on the 1st of August, and was seconded by Mr. Pease. Sir George Grey moved, as an amendment, the second reading of the Slavery Act Amendment Bill. The speakers in favour of the original motion were—Mr. James, a West Indian proprietor; Sir Edward Sugden (who, however, voted against *himself*, and the cause he defended), Mr. O'Connell, and Dr. Lushington. In favour of Sir George Grey's motion, the speakers were—Mr. Plumptre, Lord Howick, Lord John Russell, and Mr. W. E. Gladstone. The debate terminated very abruptly, owing to some sinister circumstances, whether accidental or intentional we will not pretend to determine. When the House divided, the numbers appeared—for Sir George Strickland's motion, 215; for Sir George's Grey's amendment, 269—majority against Sir George Strickland, 54.

Thus Sir George Strickland's motion for the *abolition* of the apprenticeship has been superseded by Lord Glenelg's bill for the *improvement* of the apprenticeship. It is therefore decided, for the present, that the prædial negroes are to be detained in slavery for two years longer, under the weight of those intolerable wrongs which, in too many instances, have made the apprenticeship worse than slavery. Thus, a large class of our fellow subjects, who have committed no crime, nor in any way deserved this evil, are set apart for a prolongation of that slavery from which their more fortunate associates are to be liberated next August.

Struck with the immense injustice and cruelty of this arrangement, an arrangement which we have exerted all our efforts to prevent, we protest against it with all that fervency of indignation which ever has been excited by the deliberate perpetration of unmerited wrong. *We reject* the suggestion of Her Majesty's ministers, that a two years' delay of emancipation may be tolerated, and that such a period is too short to excite our sympathies; for not only may many victims of tyranny perish in these two years by the exercise of those cruelties which have already destroyed many of the negro apprentices; but in the name of our coloured brethren, and on their behalf, we assert, that as the abolition act did plainly declare in these memorable words, 'that all persons now in slavery within the British colonies, shall on 'the 1st of August, 1834, become, and be to all intents and purposes, 'free and discharged of and from all manner of slavery, and shall be 'absolutely and for ever manumitted,' they have every right, and without a moment's delay, to be put in that condition which can enable them to exercise their rights as freemen, and to exert the moral and physical energies of reasonable and responsible creatures.

We assert that the principle of the abolition act is *emancipation*;

we appeal to the meaning of words, and the right interpretation of the English language, and we declare that the detaining the negroes in slavery, and that too after the emancipation of their brethren, will be an act of outrage, violence, and wrong, which would have disgraced the darkest eras of cruelty and oppression.

All remedial measures of the apprenticeship we entirely repudiate and absolutely reject; nor can we ever consent that a middle state between slavery and freedom should be registered as a condition which it is possible to realize. That person whose uncompensated labour is at the disposal of his master, whose services can be put up at auction and sold, who is subject to the severest punishments of stripes and imprisonment, and other means of torture at the command of a magistrate, without trial by jury, who can make no exertions for his family, and has no command of his own time and talents, is to all intents and purposes, *a slave*. These are facts in the apprenticeship which must last as long as the apprenticeship lasts, and which absolutely contradict the fundamental principle of the abolition act itself.

We have no faith in the measures and assurances of Her Majesty's ministers, relating to the apprenticeship; we are fully persuaded that Lord Glenelg's remedial bill would never have been brought forward but to appease the excitement of the British nation; and we have no hope that faulty, incompetent, and useless as it is, it will either be obeyed in the Colonies, or upheld by the Colonial Office. To demonstrate the truth of this sentiment, we need only quote Lord Glenelg's words from a published despatch. "I think it more wise to *acquiesce silently* in the inconvenience which the refusal of the half-Friday in every week may occasion, than to enter into a contest for the redress of that evil, with a distinct conviction that though there is no prospect of success, there is a high probability of widening the breach, which it is my duty as far as possible to close;" from which words the inference is inevitable—that if there was this disinclination to irritate the planter in a small matter, there can be no hope that Lord Glenelg will either desire or dare to carry out the provisions of his remedial bill, which multiplies and aggravates the sources of vexation and irritation between the planter and the apprentice.

We remember, also, with pain, that Lord Glenelg has by an Order in Council, lately introduced a new species of slavery in Hindoostan; that he has allowed the introduction of the Hill-Coolies from the East, as apprenticed labourers in British Guiana, and has thus expanded and extended the principle of slavery which we vainly hoped was extinguished; and thereby too clearly proving that this pretended remedy of the apprenticeship is to be entrusted to the superintendence of one, who to say the least, can scarcely be classed among the benefactors of the coloured race.

We further declare, that if there be any contract in the Act of Emancipation, authorizing the apprenticeship, it was professedly in favour of the negro. By the theory of the apprenticeship, the negro was to be prepared by a moral, social, and religious improvement, for complete emancipation. No improvement, however, either moral, social, or religious, has been attempted by the planters; they have

obstinately resisted all suggestions of the Government to introduce a system of education amongst the coloured race, and no one single measure of the colonial legislature can be quoted, as in any way tending to the social improvement of the negro.

The contract, if any, though ostensibly in favour of the apprentice, has been violated by the planters, the sufferer under this violated contract is the negro; who, besides bearing innumerable acts of additional oppression unknown in the days of avowed slavery, has to undergo wrongs and sufferings, but miserably concealed under the specious name of apprenticeship.

Remembering, moreover, that the remedial bill of Lord Glenelg has to be accepted by masters inflamed with all the vices of slavery, that a spirit of bitter and unrelenting hatred of the coloured race prevails in all classes of colonial society; and that the judges, legislators, jurors, and magistrates, have already exhibited this spirit in its worst form. We not only anticipate that the proposed remedy of Government will be rendered perfectly nugatory, but will stimulate the oppressing party into fresh acts of defiance and outrage, which the colonial office will have neither the desire nor the ability to overcome.

These, and many other considerations of a like nature will be felt with far more force by the negroes than by any other persons who can attempt to describe them; and it is impossible not to fear that this last stroke of cruel injustice—the prolongation of slavery for two years yet to come, may stimulate the sufferers into acts of resistance. We cannot shut our eyes to the possibility of such an event, which, whilst we foresee with painful apprehensions, is not to be attributed to any other cause than the pressure of a grievous, intolerable, and iniquitous tyranny. This is so obvious, that we never should have alluded to it, but in consequence of the insinuations of the ministers, that the blame of such a catastrophe is to be attributed to those who have undertaken to plead the cause of the negro, and to excite hopes that could not be realized.

In protesting against this insinuation we need only remark, that the wrongs and oppressions of slavery need no argument from without to excite the revengeful passions of the human mind; that the cruelties of the apprenticeship are, in themselves, hourly and daily arguments for agitation; and that the best hope of the future endurance of the negro apprentice, may be derived from his knowledge that he has still friends in England to plead his cause, to watch over his interests, and to rescue him from remediless despair.

In conclusion, we would state our conviction that Lord Glenelg's remedial bill can in no respect be considered a settlement of the question, and our belief that those who have entered upon the work of abolition, consider themselves amenable to Almighty God for their conduct in this great question, and dare not, and will not, retire from this contest till they have secured justice for the oppressed apprentices in the British Colonies.

## AYES.

(FOR THE TERMINATION OF THE APPRENTICESHIP ON THE  
FIRST OF AUGUST, 1838.)

Aglionby, H. A.	Farnham, Edward Basil	O'Connell, Morgan (Meath)
Alford, Lord Viscount	Feilden, William	O'Connell, Maurice (Tralee)
Alsager, Captain	Fielden, John	Owen, Sir John
Alston, Rowland	Fenton, John	Paget, Frederick
Archbold, Robert	Ferguson, Sir Ronald	Parker, Robert T.
Attwood, Matthias	Finch, Francis	Parker, Thos. A. W.
Bagot, Hon. William	Fitzroy, Lord Charles	Pattison, James
Bailey, Joseph	Fitzroy, Hon. Henry	Pechell, Captain
Bainbridge, Edward Thomas	Fleetwood, Peter Hesketh	Peel, Jonathan
Baines, Edward	Foley, Edward T.	Phillips, Sir R. (Haverfordwest)
Baker, Edward	Fort, John	Phillipotts, John
Barnard, Edward George	Gibson, Thomas	Pigot, Robert
Beamish, Francis B.	Gillon, William Downe	Pollhill, Frederick
Berkeley, Hon. H.	Glynne, Sir Stephen R.	Poulter, John Sayer
Berkeley, Hon. Craven	Gore, Ormsby J. R. (Caern.)	Powell, Colonel
Bewes, Thomas	Gore, Ormsby W.	Powerscourt, Lord Viscount
Blackstone, William	Goring, Harry Dent	Protheroe, Edward
Blake, Martin J.	Grattan, Henry (Meath)	Pryse, Pryse
Blunt, Sir Charles	Greenaway, Charles	Reddington, Thomas N.
Bodkin, John James	Grimsditch, Thomas	Rice, Edward Royd
Boldero, Henry George	Grote, George	Richards, Richard
Brabazon, Sir William	Guest, Josiah John	Rippon, Cuthbert
Bridgeman, Hewitt	Hall, Benjamin	Roche, Edmond B. (Cork Co.)
Briscoe, John Ivatt	Halse, James	Round, John (Maldon)
Broadwood, Henry	Handley, Henry	Rundle, John
Brocklehurst, John	Harland, William Charles	Russell, Lord (Tavistock)
Brodie, William Bird	Harvey, Daniel Whittle	Salwey, Colonel
Brotherton, Joseph	Hawes, Benjamin	Sanderson, Richard
Brown, Robert Dillon	Heathcoat, John	Sanford, Edward Ayshford
Bruges, W. H. Ludlow	Hill, Lord A. Marcus Cecil	Seale, Colonel
Bryan, George	Hindley, Charles	Sibthorp, Colonel
Buller, Sir John Yarde	Hodges, Thomas Law	Sinclair, Sir George
Bulwer, Edw. Lytton	Holland, Robert	Smith, Hon. Robert (Wycombe)
Busfield, William	Horsman, Edward	Smyth, Sir G. H. (Colchester)
Butler, Hon. Colonel	Hoskins, Kedgwin	Somerville, Sir William M.
Byng, George	Humphery, John	Stanley, Massey (Pontefract)
Cantilupe, Lord Viscount	Hurst, Robert Henry	Stansfield, William R. C.
Cayley, Edward	James, William	Staunton, Sir George Thomas
Chalmers, Patrick	Jervis, Swynfen	Stewart, James (Honiton)
Chandos, Marquis of	Johnson, General	Stuart, Henry (Bedford)
Chester, Henry	Jones, John (Caern.)	Strangways, Hon. John
Chetwynd, Major	Jones, Wilson	Style, Sir Charles
Chisholm, Alex. William	Kennaird, Hon. Arthur F.	Thompson, Mr. Alderman
Clive, Edward Bolton	Langdale, Hon. Charles	Thornely, T.
Collier, John	Langton, William Gore	Tollemache, Frederick J.
Collins, William	Leader, John Temple	Townley, Richard Greaves
Colquhoun, Sir J.	Lennox, Lord George (Sussex)	Trench, Sir Frederick
Conyngham, Lord Albert	Lennox, Lord Arthur	Turner, Edmund (Truro)
Copeland, Mr. Alderman	Litton, Edward	Turner, William (Blackburn)
Craig, William G.	Lowtler, John Henry	Verner, Colonel
Cripps, Joseph	Lushington, Dr. (Tower Ham.)	Vigers, Nicholas Aylward
Dashwood, George H.	Lushington, Charles	Villiers, Charles Pelham
Denison, William J.	Mackinnon, Wm. Alex.	Vivian, John Henry (Swansea)
Dennistoun, J.	Maher, John	Wakley, Thomas
D'Eyncourt, Rt. Hon. C. T.	Marsland, Henry	Walsh, Sir John
De Horsey, Spencer Horsey	Martin, John	Warburton, Henry
D'Israeli, Benjamin	Master, Thomas W. C.	Ward, Henry George
Divett, Edward	Maunsell, Thomas Philip	Welby, Glynne Earle
Duff, James	Meynell, Captain	Wemyss, James Erskine
Duke, Sir James	Miller, William Henry	White, Andrew (Sunderland)
Duncombe, Thomas	Molesworth, Sir William	Whitmore, Thomas Charlton
Dundas, C. W. D. (Flint)	Monypenny, Thomas G.	Wilkins, Walter
Dundas, Hon. John C.	Morris, David	Williams, William (Coventry)
Dungannon, Lord Viscount	Muskett, George A.	Wilshire, William
Easthope, John	Nagle, Sir Richard	Winnington, T. B. (Bewdley)
Eaton, Richard Jefferson	Neeld, Joseph (Chippenhams)	Winnington, H. J. (Worcestersh.)
Egerton, Sir Philip	Neeld, John	Wood, Sir Matthew
Elot, Lord	Noel, Wm. Middleton	Wood, George W. (Kendal)
Ellis, John	O'Brien, W. Smith	Worsley, Lord
Etwall, Ralph	O'Connell, Dan.	Wyse, Thomas
Evans, George	O'Connell, John (Athlone)	Yorke, Hon. Elliot Thomas
Evans, William	O'Connell, M. J. (Kerry)	

Tellers for the Ayes, Sir George Strickland and Mr. Pease.



# NOES.

(FOR THE CONTINUANCE OF THE APPRENTICESHIP.)

Acheson, Lord Viscount	Estcourt, T. (Devizes)	Lockhart, Alexander M.
Acland, Sir Thomas Dyke	Euston, Earl of	Logan, Hart
Acland, Thos. Dyke (Somerset.)	Fazakerley, John Nicholas	Lygon, Hon. General
Adam, Admiral	Fellowes, Edward	Lynch, Andrew H.
Adare, Lord Viscount	Ferguson, Sir R. A. (Derry)	Mackenzie, Thomas (Ross, &c.,
Ainsworth, Peter	Ferguson, Robert (Kirkaldy)	Mackenzie, Wm. F.
Anson, Hon. Colonel	Fergusson, Rt. Hon. R.C. (Kirkc.)	Maclean, Donald
Arbuthnott, Hon. Hugh	Filmer, Sir Edmund	Macleod, Roderick
Ashley, Lord	Fitzalan, Lord	Macnamara, Major
Bagge, William	Fitzgibbon, Hon. Colonel	McTaggart, John
Baillie, Colonel (Honiton)	Fitzsimon, Nicholas	Mahony, Peirce
Ball, Nicholas	Fleming, John	Marshall, William
Bannerman, Alexander	Follett, Sir Wm.	Marton, George (Lancaster)
Baring, F. T. (Portsmouth)	Forester, Hon. George	Maule, Hon. Fox.
Baring, Hon. F. (Thetford)	Freemantle, Sir Thomas	Melgund, Lord Viscount
Baring, H. Bingham (Marlboro')	French, Fitzstephen	Mildmay, Paulet St. John
Baring, Hon. W. B. (Staffordsh.)	Gladstone, W. E.	Milnes, Richard Monckton
Barron, Henry Winston	Goddard, Ambrose	Mordaunt, Sir John
Barrett, Barrett Standish	Gordon, Robert (Windsor)	Morpeth, Lord Viscount
Bell, Matthew	Gordon, Hon. Capt. (Aberdeensh.)	Murray, Rt. Hon. John A.
Bellew, Rich. Montesquieu	Goulburn, Rt. Hon. Henry	Nicholl, John
Bentinck, Lord George	Graham, Right Hon. Sir James	Norreys, Lord
Bentinck, Lord William	Gratton, James (Wicklowshire)	Northland, Lord Viscount
Blackburne, Ireland	Greene, Thomas	O'Brien, Cornelius
Blackett, Christopher	Grey, Sir Charles Edward	O'Callaghan, Hon. Cornelius
Blair, James	Grey, Sir George	O'Ferrall, Richard More
Blake, Wm. John (Newport)	Grimston, Lord Viscount	O'Neill, Hon. John B. R.
Bolling, William	Halford, Henry	Ord, William
Bramston, Thomas William	Harcourt, Geo. Gran. (Oxfordsh.)	Ossulston, Lord
Broadley, Henry	Harcourt, Geo. Simon (Bucks.)	Packe, Charles William
Brownrigg, Studholme	Hastie, Archibald	Paget, Lord Alfred
Buller, Edward (Staffordshire)	Hawkins, John Heywood	Pakington, John S.
Burroughes, Henry N.	Hayter, William G.	Palmer, C. Fysh (Reading
Byng, Rt. Hon. Geo. Stevens	Heneage, Edward	Palmer, Robert (Berkshire)
Calcraft, John Hales	Henniker, Lord	Palmer, George (Essex)
Callaghan, Daniel	Herbert, Hon. Sydney	Palmerston, Lord Viscount
Campbell, W. Fred. (Argyle)	Herries, Rt. Hon. John Chas.	Parker, John (Sheffield)
Canning, Rt. Hon. Sir. Stratford	Hinde, John Hodgson	Parker, Montague
Cavendish, Hon. C. (Sussex)	Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. Sir John	Parnell, Bt. Hon. Sir Henry
Cavendish, Hon. G.H. (Derbysh.)	Hodgson, Fred. (Barnstaple)	Patten, John Wilson
Chapman, Aaron (Whitby)	Hodgson, Richard	Peel, Rt. Hon. Sir Robert
Chute, W. L. William	Hogg, James Weir	Pemberton, Thomas
Clay, William	Holmes, William	Pendaaves, Edward W. W.
Clayton, Sir William Robert	Hope, George W. (Weymouth)	Philips, Mark (Manchester)
Clements, Lord Viscount	Hope, Henry T.	Philips, George R.
Clive, Hon. Robt. Henry (Salop)	Houstoun, George	Pinney, William
Colquhoun, J. C. (Kilmarnock)	Howard, Frederick J. (Youghal)	Plumpton, John Pemberton
Compton, Henry Combe	Howard, Philip Henry	Ponsonby, Hon. John
Conolly, Edward	Howick, Lord Viscount	Power, James (Wexford Co.)
Coote, Sir Charles H.	Hughes, William Bulkeley	Power John (Waterford Co.)
Corry, Hon. Henry	Hume, Joseph	Præd, W. Mackworth
Courtenay, Philip	Hurt, Francis	Price, Sir Robert
Crawford, William	Hutton, Robert	Pusey, Philip
Currie, Raikes (Northampton)	Ingestre, Lord Viscount	Ramsbottom, John
Curry, William (Armagh)	Ingham, Robert	Reid, Sir John Rae
Dalmeny, Lord	Inglis, Sir Robert Harry	Rice, Rt. Hon. Thomas Spring
Darby, George	Irtou, Samuel	Rich, Henry
Darlington, Earl of	Irving, John	Rickford, William
Dick, Quintin	Jenkins, Richard	Roche, David (Limerick City)
Dottin, Abel Rous	Jernyn, Earl	Rolfe, Sir Robert Monsey
Douglas, Sir Charles E.	Johnstone, Hope	Rose, Rt. Hon. Sir George
Douro, Marquis of	Jones, Theobald (Derry Co.)	Rumbold, Charles Edmond
Dowdeswell, William	Kemble, Henry	Rushbrooke, Colonel
Dundas, Frederick (Orkney, &c.)	Kirk, Peter	Rushout, George
Dundas, Hon. T. (Richmond)	Knatchbull, Rt. Hon. Sir Ed.	Russell, Lord John
East, James Buller	Knight, Henry Gally	Russell, Lord Charles (Beds)
Ebrington, Lord Viscount	Labouchere, Rt. Hon. Henry	Sandon, Lord Viscount
Egerton, Wm. Tatton	Lambton, Hedworth	Scarlett, Hon. J. Y. (Guildford
Egerton, Lord Francis	Lascelles, Hon. W. S.	Scarlett, Hon. Robert
Elliott, Hon. J. E. (Roxburgh)	Lefevre, Charles Shaw	Scrope, George Poulett
Ellice, Capt. Alex. (Harwich)	Lemon, Sir Charles	Seymour, Lord
Ellice, Rt. Hon. E. (Coventry)	Leveson, Lord	Sharpe, General
Ellice, Edward (St. Andrew's)	Liddell, Hon. Henry Thomas	Sheil, Richard Lalor
Estcourt, T. (Oxford University)	Loch, James	Shelborne, Earl of

Sheppard, Thomas  
 Shirley, Evelyn J.  
 Smith, John Abel  
 Smith, Abel (Herts.)  
 Smith, Robt. Vernon  
 Somerset, Lord Granville  
 Speirs, Alexander  
 Spencer, Hon. Frederick  
 Spry, Sir Samuel Thomas  
 Standish, Charles  
 Stanley, Lord  
 Stanley, W. O.  
 Stewart, John  
 Stuart, Lord James (Ayr)  
 Stuart, Villiers  
 Strutt, Edward

Sturt, Henry Charles  
 Sugden, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward  
 Surrey, Earl of  
 Talbot, C. R. Mansell  
 Talbot, J. Hyacinth  
 Tancred, Henry William  
 Teignmouth, Lord  
 Thomson, Rt. Hon. C. P.  
 Trevor, Hon. G. Rice  
 Troubridge, Sir Edward Thomas  
 Vere, Sir Charles Broke  
 Verney, Sir Harry  
 Villiers, Lord Viscount  
 Vivian Major Charles  
 Vivian, John Ennis (Truro)  
 Vivian, Rt. Hon. Sir R. Hussey

Walker, Richard  
 Wall, Charles Baring  
 Westenra, Hon. H. R.  
 White, Samuel  
 Wilbraham, George  
 Williams, Robert  
 Williams, W. Addams  
 Wodehouse, Edmond  
 Wood, Charles  
 Wood, Thomas (Middlesex)  
 Woulfe, Mr. Serjeant  
 Wrightson, William Battie  
 Wynn, Rt. Hon. C. W.  
 Yates, John A.  
 Young, John (Cavan)

Tellers, Mr. E. J. Stanley and Mr. Robert Stuart









